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AN
APPEAL
TO THE
PUBLIC,
By RHYNWICK WILLIAMS,
CONTAINING
OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS
ON
FACTS,

RELATIVE
TO HIS VERY EXTRAORDINARY AND MELANCHOLY CASE:

Humbly deemed worthy a Candid Consideration of those who
disdain the Adoption of Opinion, founded merely on

POPULAR PREJUDICE;

But possess the Virtue and Greatness of Thinking and Judging
for Themselves.

(DEDICATED WITH PERMISSION)

TO HARVEY CHRISTIAN COOMBE, ESQ;

AND

JOHN WILLIAM ANDERSON, ESQ;

ALDERMEN AND SHERIFFS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

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HARVEY CHRISTIAN COOMBE, *Esq*;

AND

JOHN WILLIAM ANDERSON, *Esq*;

ALDERMEN AND SHERIFFS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR condescending goodness in permitting me to inscribe the following Pages to you, demands my most grateful thanks, and I beg to offer them with all humility.

The subsequent observations and reflections on facts relative to my singularly unfortunate Case, are what the Public have not made, nor perhaps been inclined to make. In the perusal and consideration of them, I hope you, Gentlemen, will think, it must be not only extremely improbable that I should be capable of those unmeaning acts I am deemed guilty of, and evince so much inclination and exertion to manifest a proper abhorrence of them; but that it is *utterly impossible* any man possessing his senses, could express what is herein contained, if he was conscious of guilt.

I earnestly assure you, Gentlemen, that if ever TRUTH reached your ears, it does in the representation I now make to you and the Public, and that it is the cause of an unprotected Man, beat down by the most powerful oppression.

I therefore hope, Gentlemen, that while I bear a testimony of the errors of many characters, I may

may be considered by you and the Public as performing a duty to myself and them, by asserting my own injuries, and awakening their judgment of the necessity of more unprejudiced conduct on every future criminal question that may occur.

Should my representation prove satisfactory to you, Gentlemen, it will be some alleviation of my unhappiness; and as the world are well acquainted with your high and honourable station in life, I trust however censorious, prejudiced, or unworthy characters may remain, every generous and liberal mind will ascribe that just principle to your opinion, which Theophilus Swift, Esq. asserts in his Address to Judge Buller: "That it was not the Criminal, but *the Innocence* of the Criminated, which he maintained."

I am, Gentlemen,

With the highest Respect,

Your much obliged,

and obedient humble Servant,

RHYNWICK WILLIAMS.

*State Side, Newgate,
July, 23, 1792.*

P R E F A C E.

I SUPPOSE most Persons in England have heard of the crimes which have been committed by some Savage, or Lunatic, in London ; and that those offences are generally imputed to me.

There may however be still many persons into whose hands this Publication may come, that are not sufficiently acquainted with them, to read my appeal with the effect I humbly trust it merits.

I shall therefore briefly state the circumstances :

An alarm was spread about London, of a Man who had cruelly, wantonly, and unprovokedly assaulted and wounded several women, which acts were described to be done with a long sharp instrument, that cut through all their cloaths, generally at their back, or hips.

Large bills were posted up all over the town, intitled the MONSTER, describing his savage acts, and offering a reward from a Mr. Angerstein, of an Hundred Pounds, to any one, who should apprehend him.

For which purpose, his person and dress was described, and of course every one must be sensible, that this description of the Man came immediately from those who were thus most heinously injured ; and in fact it was given at Sir Sampson Wright's Office, in Bow-street, from whence the bills were ordered to be printed, and copies thereof are now in his possession, which he liberally lent me to copy also.

They expressed, " He is a tall man, about six-feet high, " and appears near thirty years of age, has light brown " hair, a pale face, a large nose, sometimes wears a drab " great coat, a cockade in his hat, and half-boots laced " up before."

There were bills of three dates ; the first two to the above purport, and the third stated his wounding a woman near Chancery-lane, who described him as rather more than six feet high ; that he had a cockade in his hat and a drab great coat on, with metal buttons.

The circumstances of my apprehension for these offences, will hereafter be related for consideration, but I shall first shortly state the cases.

I was charged by Miss Ann-Porter, daughter of—Porter, who keeps a Bagnio, in St. James's Street, with having committed the above offence on her, at a quarter past eleven o'clock, on the night of the 18th of January 1790, as she was walking home to her father's house, in company with her sister Sarah, and a Mrs. Miel. This cause came to a hearing at a place called Justice-Hall in the Old-Bailey.

To prove my innocence of this savage, cruel, brutal, unmeaning, foolish, and mad act, eight persons came to give their evidence that it was impossible I could have been the perpetrator.

They were Mr. Amable Michel (an Artificial Flower-maker,) in Dover-street, Piccadilly, a most respectable Tradesman; at whose house I then worked at that business; Miss Raines Michel, his sister; Miss Catharine Armat, the fore-woman in the shop; and Mary Armat, her sister, who lived in the capacity of house-maid.

Miss Frances Beaufile, one of the work-women; Mr. Hippolita Fournier an assistant; and Mr. John Gerfeaux, merchant, in Castle-street, Leicester-square, who chanced to come that evening, and gave an order for some trimming to be made by the next morning.

The above persons deposed, that I was in the house from dinner-time, until full half past twelve the same night at work, and afterwards supped with them: this was particularly brought to memory by its being the night of the Queen's birth-day; and by Mr. Gerfeaux coming to Mr. Michel's the same evening, to order eight yards of Flower-trimmings to be made for Mrs. Abington, with great haste, who swore to that fact, and that he saw me at Michel's; that he gave the order about eight o'clock, and received the above quantity of work at about ten o'clock the next morning the 19th, and sold it for 18s. a yard to that lady.

The Account-books were sent for to the Court, wherein it was found entered accordingly.

Mr. Michel told the Court on Oath, he had promised that order to be completed by the next morning, for which reason he had kept me so late; that myself, Miss Michel,

Michel, Miss Armat, and her Sister Mary, were the only persons who worked on that trimming ; that the latter did not usually work on the flowers, but was called then to assist a little.

Notwithstanding the testimony of the above persons who came entirely disinterested to give their evidence, and without any influence but a regard to truth and justice, Miss Ann Porter's and her sister Sarah's tale had the desired effect.

For fear however it should not, they brought their sisters, Rebecca and Martha, to swear they had seen me at other times, *but not that night*, and that I had abused them with horrible language. I was therefore deemed guilty, but the case was reserved for the opinion of the twelve Judges, and after being kept fettered in Newgate for five months, and one month in Clerkenwell Prison, I was again put to the Criminal's bar, and told by the Court, the Law had been strained beyond its bounds to render me a felon ; that my case came only within an action of Assault, but that though I was not within the lash of the Law as a Felon, I was open to punishment in another place ; and therefore remanded me back to be tried again : I then answered the Judge as follows :

" My Lord,

" After a confinement of six months, as
 " disgraceful as it has been distressing to me, I feel little
 " satisfaction at the interpretation of a statute, which has
 " neither cleared my character as a man, nor established
 " my innocence in the eye of Justice.

" Alas ! my Lord, I am only reserved for severer trials,
 " though the letter of the Law may not apply to the
 " cruel conviction I have suffered ; Prejudice but arms
 " Justice with new whips to scourge me.

" My case remains the very same it ever did ; the
 " same that it was five months ago, I have no new evi-
 " dence to offer ; such of the family as were present
 " with me in Dover-street, when Miss Porter was
 " wounded, have already given their testimony. That
 " testimony has not been credited, as it was the true,
 " and being on that account, the only one I had to pro-

“ duce, if it did not avail me then, it will not avail me
“ in future.

“ Much as I have been abused, and libelled in the
“ public prints, and bad as an unjust, and persecuting
“ world is disposed to think of me, I will neither bring
“ people to perjure themselves, by swearing to a *different*
“ alibi, nor by pleading Not Guilty, will I be the cause
“ of more perjury among my prosecutors.

“ My innocence however has not wanted an advo-
“ cate,† after the publication of this gentleman, were I
“ to stand a second trial with the same people, the same
“ perjury that pushed them on to commit me before,
“ would only be multiplied by them with new force, for
“ the purpose of strengthening those very weakneses,
“ absurdities, and contradictions, which the learned
“ Gentleman in his letter to the Judge who tried me,
“ has so fully pointed out.

“ Therefore my Lord, I do not feel the least exulta-
“ tion in discovering, that after a confinement of six
“ months, I only exchange a lesser misery for a greater.

“ Good God, for what am I reserved? without friends,
“ without money to support me in my difficulties, or to
“ enable me to stand another trial with those whom re-
“ ward has enriched, and whose cause has made friends
“ of all men; it is impossible that a poor and helpless in-
“ dividual should struggle with the storm, or convince
“ those who have determined that they will not be con-
“ vinced. My Lord, I stand an instance of singular
“ misfortune, that while my passion for the sex had nearly
“ ruined me, a sanguinary charge of a nature directly
“ opposite, should compleat my destruction.

“ I have now nothing to hope or look for in this
“ world; to my God alone, to whom my innocence is
“ known, and whom in this instance at least I have
“ not offended, I turn for comfort and support.

“ Though Justice be denied me here, a Father so kind
“ and merciful, will not refuse it me as I demand it of
“ my prosecutors, on that great day, when the Judges of
“ this earth, will themselves be tried.

“ Had

" Had it been his gracious will, most cheerfully should
 " I have fought among savages in another country that
 " protection, which has been denied me in this."

As I thus told the court at the Old-Bailey, so it proved on the second trial at the Session's-House, Clerkenwell, the tale was told with new recollections and several variations. They brought (with an evident design to bolster it up) Mrs. Miel, who was with them at the time of the assault, and John Porter their brother, who opened the door, and saw the Villain, for whom I am mistaken; however, though J. Porter said he looked at him full in the face, and was no way alarmed, he would not swear that I was the man. Nor would likewise Mrs. Miel, who had a better opportunity than any of them, of noting him. Mr. Angerstein they also produced, whose evidence was very far from adding to their cause, as they expected; for he confessed, that though *they* refused the advertised reward he offered them for convicting me, that their sheet-anchor evidence and friend, John Coleman, had accepted it, and likewise he gave an order to a Mr. Taylor for a private subscription to the amount of 135 Guineas, and the public may believe these immense sums are the least part of the rewards that person has received.

To ensure a second verdict, which was become so very importantly necessary on many accounts, which I shall hereafter represent, three Counsellors were feed and employed to support them, well hackneyed in the manners and customs of the court; though they were only opposing a man, rendered unable by an odious charge, and long confinement, to employ even an Attorney to form a brief of his defence, or give a solitary guinea to one of their fraternity to hold it. Notwithstanding the fate that I knew awaited me on the second trial, and though sensible that the popular prejudice was further increased by the first, which hung up judgment over my head, I addressed the Court to the following purport:

" I have said, I should plead guilty to every charge
 " hereafter brought against me, but I have since determined

" mined *not* to plead guilty, under *any* form, or circumstances ; as the mistaken world might thereby be apt to think, I *acknowledge* guilt."

I therefore again sent to Mr. Michel, who came immediately, without any previous notice, and brought with him such of his family as were at home ; they were Miss Catherine Armat, Miss Frances Beaufile, and Mr. John Gerfeaux.

I wish only to prove to the world, they were ready to stand to the truth of what they had before asserted. In short I was here also returned Guilty.

I was next charged by Mary Davis, who is a Chair, or Washer-woman, lodging in a garret, in Clark's-court, Holborn, with assaulting her near the top of Chancery lane, about nine o'clock in the evening of the 5th of May, 1790 ; to which I also affirmed my innocence, by pleading not Guilty.

She had no proof to bring that I was the person who offended her.

I did not call any evidence to acquit me, though Mr. Michel &c. could have positively proved, I was at work with them also at that time.

The verdict was of course likewise Guilty.

The next was of Miss Elizabeth Baughan, and her sister Frances, Shoe-makers, in Henrietta-street, Covent-Garden, on the 6th of December 1789, at a quarter past seven in the evening, in Bridge-street, Westminster : I denied being guilty of it, but was told by my Counsel, it would be entirely useless to call any evidence, (which advice I took) though I could have brought two persons who would have proved I was in the house where I then lodged, all that evening from dinner-time ; which they on recollection remembered by some remarkable circumstances. Another verdict followed of Guilt.

For which three offences (of which I trust, I shall yet clear myself,) I was sentenced to suffer a wretched confinement in Newgate, for the space of SIX YEARS, and at the end, to find security for future good behaviour, during the term of seven years, in the penal sum of Four Hundred Pounds.

APPEAL

A P P E A L, &c.

CONSCIOUS INNOCENCE of the crimes for which I am however imprisoned, prompts me on every occasion and opportunity to assert it ; notwithstanding the Oaths of my interested prosecutors with the artifices and exertions of their Counsellors, to gain their cause.

Suffering as I do, in the opinion of my countrymen in general, who in their eagerness to seize on some person properly upheld to them as deserving their utmost vengeance, have been very hastily led to prematurely condemn and execrate me ; I have but little inducement to conduct myself toward them, with any degree of patience.

An upright indignation is the only stimulus I can have, to attempt a representation of the justice which is my due ; for but too well do I know, it is not in the power of any one to requite the injuries I have sustained, and remain subject to ; and I have but little reason to think, that even my liberty would ensue, though I should prove able to convince my countrymen, I am mistaken for that wretch which my soul abhors ; as it would not remove the *Legal Sentence* upon me, and which an interested and wealthy party will have always sufficient influence to keep secure.

Extremely as I have suffered depression from every cause that could reduce a man to perfect misery, and however impotent may be my efforts to gain an opinion of the world really founded in truth, yet I shall feel some solace, that I have retained spirit enough to assert my innocence in a proper manner, and openly meet my accusers on every occasion.

Though I am legally forced into the walls of misery and despair, I shall sustain the satisfaction of having acted as a man, and discharged a duty to myself, and to the community at large, to the utmost of my ability.

I have however had the honor and pleasure of being visited in my confinement, by several intelligent and liberal

liberal persons, who have observed and reflected further on my case, than has generally been done; and I am informed, that in many places, and on many incidents, my cause has had advocates.

Trusting therefore, that there are more of my fellow-Countrymen who possess spirit and penetration to form an opinion themselves, and have time enough to reflect justly on a mournful case, though a Tragedy of but little entertainment, I submit to them, the following

OBSERVATIONS:

IT must be pretty well known, that the Gentleman * I have above alluded to, and who stands eminently distinguished for humanity, wisdom, and integrity, publicly addressed the Judge who summed up the evidence at the Old Bailey, on my case.

This he did voluntarily, and without any knowledge of me : when he first began to write that Pamphlet, which was from reading even the exaggerated accounts in the News-papers, though many of his expressions therein may appear harsh to some persons, yet they flowed from that love of justice and manly spirit, which renders him in every good disinterested and unprejudiced mind, at once the ornament and admiration of human nature.

In that publication, he clearly pointed out many contradictions and absurdities in the evidence against me, and as conclusively supported the validity of the evidence of those respectable persons, by which I trusted I should have been acquitted of the charges brought against me; and throughout his epistle he has spiritedly and fairly upheld parties to view, that on just discrimination, really prove directly opposite to their specious appearance.

Further observations, still however remain to be made on many circumstances of my case; to which I shall add some of the most material of his, as many have not, perhaps, met with that publication.

* Theophilus Swift, Esq. who intended and began a second publication on this matter, but was prevented completing it by the occurrence of particular concerns in another kingdom, which required his attendance; or I should myself have represented this case to the Public long before this time.

That my conduct and demeanor since the death of my worthy and honourable Father, and previous to the infamous accusations preferred against me, was frequently imprudent and extravagant, I too sensibly remember ; but notwithstanding I might by it have laid myself open to cruel accusations, (and in a state of poverty unable to defend them) yet I truly declare, that however extravagant or irregular I may have been, such conduct was never excited but by an affectionate and ardent pursuit of the fair sex, whom I am *vilely* thought to hate ; and I justly assert, that every man, or woman, who say that any action, in any period of my life, was *ever* committed by me, to stamp me a villain, a wretch, or a monster, are guilty of a wicked falsehood ; and I hope I shall always exultingly say, such a character is totally contrary to my nature.

Some persons may say, what propriety is there in now affirming your innocence ? the legislature has appointed a regular mode of trying your cause ; it has been questioned in a place that has the province of making all such investigations, in *that* you should have sought for acquittal.

But however plausible this may seem, or though it may hold good in most cases, mine is certainly an exception ; for I do affirm, and trust I shall convince every candid and *disinterested* mind, that I did not stand the least chance of acquittal, though innocent of the charges against me. I was compleatly and irrevocably pre-judged, long before my trial took place, and then both Judge and Jury were deceived by appearances, *accidentally* unfavourable to me ; and I was in a situation entirely impotent in the means of resisting charges that were of such a nature, and so numerous, as to check the few friends I had, from supporting me, who would probably under any other circumstances, have all pushed forward and saved me from destruction ; but they were properly cautious of being involved in odium, by countenancing one, who was in an instant branded with infamy, and beat down with all the force of popular prejudice. How great soever our reverence ought therefore

to be for the dispassionate justice, which is designed by our celebrated constitution of government ; yet the force of popular prejudice, public clamour, and interested exertions, are *invincible* ; and that such causes often pervert justice, no well-informed person will deny ; and therefore nothing shall prevent my asserting in any way, nor on any occasion, that I am punished unmeritedly ; and though I do not purpose to fly in the face of *all* order, I will nevertheless affirm my innocence, while power remains, though it should prematurely end my life.

Judge Buller, who presided at the first trial, was aware of the influence of the prejudice against me, and saying to the Jury, " Popular prejudice often injures, but never serves the cause of justice : " recommended them to dispossess themselves of it. So did Mr. Mainwaring, at the subsequent trial ; but I am afraid, it is not more effectual to say, " Let me request you to dispossess yourselves of prejudice, than it is to desire a person in the " deepest affliction, not to be unhappy, who will think the impression is not involuntary ? "

I shall for a moment call your recollection to the case of Lord Dungarven, who a short time after me was under the necessity of resisting an infamous charge at the same Bar that I was ; made equally positive, and circumstantial as mine, and most likely interestedly too. To this, though undoubtedly innocent, he could only bring circumstantial evidence in denial ; he had it not in *his* power to prove an *alibi*, by eight persons ; but what then ? Dukes, Earls, Barons, and Gentlemen came in numbers to appear to his character, as totally incompatible with the charge ; Counsel were not ashamed to hold *his* brief, nor to exert those talents, powers, and advantages they hold in the courts ; the popular odium was directed against his *accuser*, and a Counsel against him, that without popular odium, would perhaps have flourished with his case, was hereby cooled in his efforts to prosecute ; nor was the necessary gold wanting to animate the defending Counsel : his acquittal ensued, and I firmly believe

lieve justly ; but this affair serves strongly to shew, how much a character, power, and management is necessary to acquit any man, when once persons prove hardy enough to charge, and swear stoutly to it.

That popular prejudice however often prevails improperly, cannot be doubted by any well-informed man, and the fury of the Public is easily excited to cry halloo ! mad dog ! on any person on whom there is the slightest report of circumstantial guilt ; and more particularly, if the offence is of an odious or horrible nature, the most trifling accidental incident is always magnified as it travels from ear to ear, like the common story of a lady that had been said to have one morning rejected something as black as a crow ; who in a little progression, was said to have vomited from one to three black crows.

Besides the dreadful effects of prejudice in general, I could quote a number of cases that are on record, where individuals have innocently fallen victims, to the effects of large rewards being held out to prosecute, to the gratification of revenge, and to the private views of a party, as well as misconception.

When to this I add, that in any cause made a topick of public and private conversation, rich and powerful individuals are found to be officiously (though unnecessarily) exerting themselves to procure a Verdict, and establish a claim to popular approbation for supporting ambitious views. I ask, whose character, liberty, and life, shall *not* be in danger ?

Considering all this, let me represent and call your imagination to a situation, somewhat similar to the one I have above alluded to, but of a man *unprotected*.

Conceive a young uninformed man at a Criminal Bar, without money, or a bright character, consequently without friends ; attach to him an odious offence, have ready a couple of stout swearers, of a specious and plausible appearance, who are to receive the benefits of a large quantity of gold, on the belief of their tale. Expose him to the confident and over-bearing attacks of three or four men, versed and experienced in all the arts for gaining a cause, which they are to be well paid for.

Imagine the influence of these men upon a Jury, and of supporting any specious pretence of their clients ; remember the unlimited power they have of brow-beating, terrifying, perplexing, insulting, and knocking down all evidence contrary to their cause, though even persons perhaps of more worthy and candid attention, than that they are so well feed to support ; from being not only disinterested evidence, but who at the same time incur abuse and odious reflections, while they give a testimony, resulting only from an honest regard to truth and justice, not even induced by habitual friendship, or the ties of consanguinity.

This my countrymen was my case, but rendered worse still by the exertions of wealthy men, and by the universal influence of that abominable tyrant, prejudice.

Mr. Swift in his Pamphlet, page 11 and 12, expresses with great propriety to Judge Buller, "I cannot but lament
" that a poor illiterate man, unversed in the School of
" eloquence and the art of moving the passions, is frequently left to combat the oratory of them, whose education hath opened to them all the avenues of the human heart; culled for them all the flowers of persuasion,
" and taught the thunders of conviction to obey their
" command."

And page 20, " I must continue to think, that the accused in this boasted land of liberty, does not enjoy
" the same privileges with his accusers." Alas! too much, too woefully do I know and feel the truth of Mr. Swift's remarks ; and from experience I assure my Countrymen, that as things are, instead of candour and justice, and the boasted impartiality in the trials of Englishmen, any man in the circumstances I was, stands but a forlorn chance in the scale of Justice, until he comes before that Judge, whose penetration is the light and spirit of truth, and whose judgment will ultimately be passed on us all.

The influence and cry was so great against me, that the very Counsel, who on the first trial took up my cause, and received a fee from the only impartial friend I then had, began his languid exertions with an apology
to,

to my Prosecutors, as only performing a mere duty; I declare my heart shrunk within me, when I heard him. The most shallow person must know, that Miss Porter's evidence could not criminate me so much, as an apology so unnecessary, and so much out of season. It was a kind of surrender of my innocence, a sort of mitigating plea. Let me ask those who were at the trial, did the truly respectable Mr. Michel and his family experience such conduct, who came to swear, to the number of eight, that I was at their house at, and for a considerable time after the crime had been committed, which was laid to my charge? I say, did they experience such conduct from the Counsel employed against me? No, far the contrary. They were all insulted in the grossest manner, and contradictions were endeavoured to be forced out of them, which they never uttered.

The conduct of Mr. Pigot, the leading Counsel against me, should have also proper consideration — He artfully endeavoured to make Mr. Michel, who was the first person that came to prove my *alibi*, appear to the Court and Jury, as to be suspected an accomplice with me in such offences; this was his candid treatment to a Foreigner, a most respectable tradesman, who could not speak a word of English; and who, though I was some time discharged his service, and had no sort of obligation to me, came to speak that truth, which I verily believe his heart always dictated. I trust, however, I shall be able to bear witness of the spirited and disinterested regard to justice of him and his family, when they will be rewarded thereby, and placed above the insults of artful and designing men. I have already publicly declared, that my heart abhors the savage deeds which have been committed by some creature or other; and I affirmed my innocence in a most serious manner, in both the Courts wherein I have been prosecuted, and endeavoured to impress the truth, and obtain an indulgent hearing likewise. But, alas! that was not to be my portion. When at the Criminal Bars, I called on Almighty God to witness not only the truth of that assertion, but that I ever retained the strongest affection for the
fair

fair sex, as the comfort and happiness of the world, and to whom I had endeavoured in every circumstance of my life, to render assistance and protection; moreover that, I would at the most dangerous risk of my life, rescue the very woman, who had so barbarously pursued me. Mr. Pigot, who seemed on all occasions to expect that his opinions and assertions were to pass as law, had the assurance to tell the Court, after my most serious declarations, that in doing this, I was only mocking public justice, and adding another crime to those I had before committed; that it was only a trick which had been often played, and that it was the greatest effrontery in me to set up an *alibi*; thereby insinuating, that I was the most depraved wretch in the universe, and that a numerous and respectable party, with whom I had quitted all concerns, were to be supposed as coming into Court, to solemnly swear any thing I should wish or dictate to them.

He avowed further, that he was convinced of my guilt *before* he came into Court; and when desiring my prosecutors to look at me, his expressions were, look at that *thing*, look at that *creature*; yet he pretended to request the Court and Jury not to sustain *his* prejudice, that his cause did not want it; and most absurdly made a parade, of begging they would at once efface from their minds all recollection of every syllable they had ever heard or read about me, or the Monster, and not to believe I was the man, until it was established by the evidence he meant to produce; and at the same instant talked about the great obligation the Public owed to the Gentleman, to whom they were so much indebted for this prosecution, and for bringing the perpetrator to justice; that I had only come to be tried a second time, by a misconstruction of a Statute, which could not be passed over *even with me*; and cautioned them how they let me escape, as they valued the peace and security of their own wives and daughters.

Are we to think, that all this conduct of Mr. Pigot's was the effusion of his justice, his consistency, his disinterestedness,

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estedness, his candour, his liberality, and his manly spirit? Sorry am I to say, it *however* answered his purpose.

I have heard Mr. Pigot bears an *excellent* character as a Gentleman and a Philanthropist; I have no inclination to subvert it, or use that language which would be as unmanful in my present situation, as his virulent abuse was to me, when he assumed and crowed in his place of safety, to gain the influence he wished, but which a really good cause never wants.

Though I shall not *say* I doubt his benign principles, or the truth of his sincerity, I hesitate not to pronounce to him, that, *if he in his own mind* thinks I *am* guilty of the crime I am imprisoned for, I bear the fullest testimony of the Error of his Judgment; and notwithstanding his opinion of a serious appeal to the Author of our Being, I shall presently offer my evidence in that manner, which though he calls a trick, I consider a most solemn proof, and trust every well-thinking, good, and unprejudiced mind, will judge so too.

What can a candid and just person say in reflecting, that while I was charged at a Criminal Bar with cruel, wanton, and unmeaning acts, that after eight persons had come to prove an *alibi*, a respectable young woman also, on her Oath declared to the Court, I had saved her life from Drowning, *and only excited a laugh.*

I appeal to them, was this feeling? was this justice? was this the *spirit* of English Law? was this the action of a Monster? I declare my heart was ready to burst with indignation.

This Philanthropic Mr. Pigot, who was always so ready with his professions of candour and public spirit, did not even attempt to stifle the laugh; no, he thought best to let such material evidence against his cause thus be stifled; how his heart accords, he best knows: and though my disapprobation of his assuming, hasty, and partial conduct, I believe he cares little for; yet I will venture to tell him, the young woman whose testimony was thus treated, though not possessing a silver toned voice, a delicate

delicate painted face, nor habited in white muslin, nor declaiming the fashionable cause of the day, nevertheless deserved far better treatment than she experienced.

I had never seen her after the accident, until she came into Court, disinterestedly to make that declaration, which was not only followed by a contemptuous laugh, but villainous insults from the surrounding mob.

This honest, virtuous young woman, betrayed a true and unaffected agitation at the time of giving her evidence, by the treatment of almost all around her.

Those who were at either, or both of the trials, must well remember the treatment the Miss Porter's experienced, that it was of the most partial kind.

On their representing great agitation, and shewing every sign of emotion, (except change of colour) It was, pray Madam, rest a little, compose yourself, don't be discouraged, bring a glass of water, where's the smelling salts, bring a chair, said one of their Counsel, shaking his wig, and making a long face at the Jury, sit down Miss Porter, don't be afraid, remember the *object* which you alone pursue is public justice, &c. &c.

Here I must ask, *was it necessary* for their kind Counsel to *remind* her, public justice *was* her only object? I am afraid it is too true.

I ask also, whether the conduct and transactions above related, is not to be supposed as having their wished-for influence, and exciting extreme partiality? Was it not sufficient to establish premature conviction on an op-probed defendant, with *any* set of men, allowing them every virtuous intention? These questions may still more certainly be answered, when it is known abroad how *I* was treated.

I have always heard it maintained, that any man or woman at a Bar of Justice, should be presumed innocent, until the Verdict of the Jury is given; that they should have every allowance, experience every kind of humanity, candour, impartiality, and indulgence. Nay, that even the very man who sits as the Judge of their cause, should be also their Counsel and Advocate of such proofs,

as

as may be adduced in their defence: this is I believe founded in the spirit of English Law and benevolent justice, and I sincerely hope such principles will prevail.

But with regard to myself, while the manœuvres above stated were going on, which in fact were an imposition on clear and impartial understandings, many persons around me were exclaiming, Oh, the wretch! Oh, the villain! and looking toward me with indignant eyes, as the author of all the Ladies *apparent* sufferings. While telling *their* tale, did they excite a laugh? Were the audience merry then? No! no! no! certainly not.

On the second trial, Mr. Swift, who voluntarily came into Court to support me, as much as a single voice could, on finding I would not plead guilty, properly ordered the witnesses to be kept out of Court. While each were giving their evidence, I detected the newly enriched Coleman, their sheet-anchor assistant, who audaciously swore at the Old Bailey, he *knew* I observed his following me, and acted accordingly, well knowing this must have a great tendency to procure conviction on me.

I say, notwithstanding this fair request of Mr. Swift's, which the Court had not power of denying, I saw this Coleman, peeping and listening through a broken pane of glass, to hear what evidence his fair and intended bride was giving; and it was with difficulty I could procure his removal, on complaining of this instance of undue and reprehensible conduct.

I ask those who were in the Court, was he hissed at for so doing? they well know not, it rather excited invectives on me for noticing it.

I was frequently hissed on attempting to speak on very important occasions, and though every thing dear to me was at stake, and must be supposed under the most dreadful anxiety, the Chairman told me several times, he never saw a prisoner behave so ill, but I knew not for what. His want of feeling in this instance, I never can forgive, for I well knew how much I deserved his protection.

Miss Porter represented a want of power, to answer several questions Mr. Swift put to her; and the audience thinking them too harsh for her weak frame to answer, or

too important on my part, again called in hissing to their assistance, forgetting that my future welfare might thus be determined.

I pray God to forgive me if I am here unjust, or too severe ; but justice to myself and to the world, calls on me to declare, that I remarked the agitations which Miss Porter shewed in the Courts, were at the most *convenient* times, when certain questions were put, and which were of great consequence to my acquittal. Mr. Swift, whose true humanity and benevolence can never justly be doubted, finding he could not obtain any answers, but by an appearance of agitation and fainting, declared *he* was not to be influenced by stage effect.

He therefore repeated his questions, but they only produced a vociferated opposition from his numerous antagonists.

Who then can with truth say, all this had not a sensible and powerful effect, even an involuntary effect ? it cannot but be admitted !

Here I must further remark, that as soon as Miss Porter's cause was over, her exquisitely tender feelings and emotions *died* with it.

For the next cause was graced with her and sister's presence in the Gallery of the Court, directly fronting to me, and the ensuing Ladies who were to follow her steps.— This I suppose they maintain, can hardly be imagined to have raised or increased their courage and memory to swear positively, or to have operated as a memento, how stoutly and without doubt they done it, though they were really not to have “ *directly* nor *indirectly* ” any share of the immense rewards that were held up to the Convicts.

The conduct of these subsequent Ladies I shall speak of, when I come to reflections on the matter of all the evidence ; I have now fairly stated *how* it was given and received, and *why* the evidence of two was preferred to eight ; and shall conclude this part of the subject, with quoting some remarks Mr. Swift makes in his Pamphlet, and with introducing some Affidavits and Certificates, supporting the truths of what has been asserted by me.

Mr. Swift says, page 210. “ Three things my experience in the world hath taught me ; that public justice,

" tice, as it is sometimes administered, is but another word for private revenge ; that prejudice is the nurse of error ; and reward the mother of perjury."

And page 211. " That the prosecutors in the present cause have been under undue influence of some sort or other, will hardly I presume be contested ; still less will it be denied, that the innocence of the accused *has been lost in the magnitude of the offence.*

" But this was not all that Williams had to contend with : to the learning and abilities of the most distinguished lawyers, to the wealth that fed their cause, to the active zeal and vigilant attention of an able attorney, to the rewards of wealthy, but *misguided* men, to the popular breeze that blew the sail of beauty before it, and anchored her in the port where she was sure to find her best protection : the prisoner had to oppose with extreme ignorance, and extreme indigence ; a Counsel that rejected a brief, which another apologized for accepting ; an intimidated Attorney, that abandoned him at the moment of trial ; menaced and brow-beaten Witnesses ; unactive Councils, and languid resolutions ; a character defamed and vilified by men and women ; a storm of prejudice, that blew down all before it, and shipwrecked his best and fairest hopes."

After what I have stated, I think I may, without assuming, appeal to the World, whether my Oath, (though not admissible in a legal Court), is not in truth and in men's minds, to be at least as much regarded as my prosecutor's, more especially when it is considered, that they have gained by their's very considerably, and that I offer mine after the advantages they have gained, and have within a few months endured the confinement allotted to expiate that charge ; that nothing is now left for me to hope or expect, but the future favor of my God, to the soul of my deceased body, which perhaps will perish by confinement for a long period, within the walls of a loathsome jail.

If therefore *any* circumstances of human life should ever operate to cause seriousness, repentance and religious truth, such are those of my situation ; they severely teach me a lesson, seldom experienced at my early time, that

all pursuits in it but those of virtue and religion, are not only trivial and unavailing, but are the source of present and future misery.

THE OATH.

I requested the attendance of Mr. Alderman Wilkes, at Newgate, who accordingly came, with proper official attendants, and before them uttered as follows :

" I do most solemnly and unequivocally declare to my
 " Countrymen before Almighty God, that I never com-
 " mitted, or caused to be committed, any of those offen-
 " ces against the Laws of my Country, for which I am
 " sentenced to a long and miserable confinement. In the
 " most earnest manner I again appeal to that infinitely
 " Great and Wise Power, whose gracious favor must
 " be the ultimate prospect of us all, for the truth of
 " my innocence of those enormous transactions.

" Believing, that by his omniscience and justice he
 " witnesses the actions of the virtuous and wicked for
 " their due reward or punishment hereafter, I humbly
 " and seriously solicit his present and future protec-
 " tion, according to my truth in these assertions ;
 " and if I now represent falsehood, that my Almighty
 " Father may consign me to everlasting perdition and
 " endless torture.

" Conscious therefore of suffering unmeritedly for the
 " above crimes, committed by another person or persons,
 " with sincere repentance of other transgressions, and
 " humbly soliciting his protection, I ardently pray.

" So help me God,

" RHYNWICK WILLIAMS."

I certify that Rhynewick Williams made the above Declaration on Oath,

March the 20th, 1792.

Sworn in London before me,

JOHN WILKES.

OBSERVATIONS on the foregoing.

I cannot but reflect how incompetent the human mind is found to be, in *always* forming a just opinion of many of the occurrences of human life, and how liable it is to deceptions from mistakes and chance appearances ; that how often before Judges, who have seemed to possess the height of human wisdom and benevolence, and Juries, whose judgments (without prejudice) no interest could bias. The course of justice has been perverted, and innocent men deemed guilty, through the evidence of false witnesses ; and in how many instances the wolf has appeared in the cloathing of a lamb ? how much horror has been excited at various times, on truth darting her divine rays, declaring the villain has escaped ; while innocence has borne the misplaced punishment ? we see therefore, what great penetration and impartiality is necessary for the administrators of justice. Could I but represent what passed in the Courts wherein I was tried, a candid mind would soon have commiserated my situation.

As I however have due respect for the institutions of justice, I shall not offer my censure ; but only remark, that few observations were made on very important points in my favor, and that the trifling and insignificant variations in the evidence to prove my alibi, (on which much stress was laid) might have been reconciled, in considering the great number of persons who came into Court to give a testimony of facts, after a lapse of six months.— That such might be supposed to occur, particularly as they were not in the interim either pre-examined or pre-tutored, which evidently appeared ; but they all agreed positively to the fact, in point of time and place. I shall hereafter produce an Affidavit of two more, in addition to the Alibi, which corroborates with the evidence I produced. Who can say they are safe under any accusations, when so respectable and pointed an Alibi is of no service ?

Mr. Swift having obtained Copies of the information given by the Miss Porter's, at Bow-street, had an opportunity of comparing them, and pointing out the contradictions of their stories at different periods ; therefore I shall quote some of them, as many may read this Memorial, who have not that of Mr. Swift's.

The

The first observation he makes upon hearing that a Mrs. Miel was in company with them at the time they were assaulted, who was neither stunned nor wounded, but unembarrassed, consequently capable of swearing to the man more than Ann Porter, who tells you, she did not see him till she had received the wound, which was four inches deep, and ten in length, and was enough to make any woman totally incapable of making observation. That it must appear she is too conscientious to swear what she knows to be false : likewise the Brother, who had a compleat view of his person, upon opening the door would not swear to me ; though when he saw the man, asked his sister Sarah, if that man belonged to her company. This, (though not inserted in the Trial that was published) they cannot contradict. Martha and Rebecca, the sisters, who were not present when Ann and Sarah were assaulted by the Monster, were brought upon the plan of strengthening the other's evidence ; but could only say, they had seen me before, which was perfectly true ; but that does not infer, that I must be that Monster who wounded her sister : had they come to swear, that the sisters Ann and Sarah told them, that the man who had so cruelly treated them was him, they nick-named their old acquaintance, they could not have forgot that, and would have taken good care it should be known. Had this occurred, it would have appeared a proof of guilt ; as it did *not* occur, it must appear as one proof of my innocence.

There is also their Father, Mother, Brother, Mrs. Miel, the Surgeon who dressed the wound, and heard the story ; not one of them would come forward to say they ever heard them speak to that purport.

I shall here mention, as concise as possible, the particulars of our knowing each other : I remember them by sight some years, as I believe most young men do, who have frequented the Park, Kensington Gardens, and other places devoted to gallantry. I frequently solicited an acquaintance, but was not successful. I had the vanity to persevere whenever chance threw them in my way ; and as my company did not prove agreeable to the Ladies, I was called shopman, and told to go my way to the shop counter, &c. I in return, recollect saying one evening, I think myself

self as good as a certain Captain, with whom you made a short excursion : this was all the subject of the gross abuse and indelicate language, so much talked of by them. Mr. Swift has explained this more particularly.

I shall now begin with Miss Porter's contradictions :— She swore at the Old Bailey, she knew the Prisoner as he walked up to the top of the whole flight of steps, at her father's door ; whereas any one may convince themselves, that the entrance of Pero's Bagnio, St. James's-street, is level with the street, and there is not one single step. If therefore there are no steps, how could she know or remember me at the top of them ?

Ann Porter, at Bow-street swore, that on the first alarm and agitation of her sister, (which she says happened a few doors up St. James's-street,) she saw the Prisoner : the same lady tells you at the Old Bailey, that on the first alarm and agitation of her sister, she did not see the Prisoner ; nor did she distinguish what her sister said, except desiring her to run, which she did ; and says it was not then, but afterwards, that she saw the Prisoner, and that was when he walked up to the top of the steps.

This same Ann Porter, at Bow-street, swore the Prisoner followed them very close, till they came to their own door : at the Old Bailey she tells you, he did not follow her at all, for that she did not see him before she felt the blow that wounded her.

This same consistent Lady swore at Bow-street, it was not the bottom of St. James's-street that the man struck Sarah, but after they arrived at their own door ; for that the Prisoner walked on to the next house, and returned to strike her sister Sarah on the head : at the Old Bailey, she knows nothing of this.

Now for Miss Sarah's contradictions : she swore at Bow-street, that the Prisoner struck her while she was at her own door ; at the Old Bailey she says on Oath, that he struck her a violent blow on the head, at the bottom of St. James's-street, not at her own door : in another part of her evidence she says, when she first saw him, he was standing with his back to the Palace, looking down St. James's-street, instead of up the street : at Bow-street this stands contradicted ; she says she did not observe him
till

till she got to her own door, where she received the violent blow.

Ann says at one time, on being wounded, *she only felt a strange sensation*; but on cross examination confesses, the blow she received was very violent indeed; that in consequence of it, she was greatly alarmed and fluttered. The two sisters both agree at different times, that neither of them saw the man, till they felt his blows. In the midst of all their agitation, it cannot be supposed they could possibly take sufficient notice to swear truly to the man.

Ann was asked at the Old Bailey, how long it was after the circumstance happened, before she saw the Prisoner? she replied, not till the Sunday evening, as I was walking in the Park, on the 13th of June, which was the time they sent Coleman after me.

When Sarah was examined, she was questioned when she next saw him; she replied, I saw him the week before he was apprehended go down St. James's-street, as I was sitting at work at the front window, and my sister standing at the other; and I said to my sister, good God! Nancy, look over the way; and she said, there is the wretch that wounded me. We sent two men after him, who unfortunately followed another man: this is the first time you hear, the wretch who had before insulted them with such *shocking* language, talked of as *the Monster*. The whole of this story appears therefore positively contradictory.

They said, that the street being illuminated, gave sufficient light to see the offender. Mr. Swift, on the 12th of August following, (when the street was brilliantly illuminated) took the trouble of going there with his son, and placed himself in the situation where the Monster was described to have stood, and his son facing him; notwithstanding the street was so light, a bow window projecting from each side the Bagnio, entirely darkened the doorway, so that the son protested he should not have known his father, had he not been acquainted for what purpose he had been placed there. They then exchanged situations, and the father made the same observation.

The witnesses told the Court they singled me from the crowd at Bow-street, on the day of my examination. Was this so surprizing, when they had me an hour and a half in their parlour the preceding evening, and dressed in the same blue and buff? If they knew me so well, how is it that when they went to Bow-street to lodge information and give a description of the man who had assaulted them, that they described a man, whose figure, age, features, complexion, and dress, was so different to mine? There was after them, one or two more of the wounded Ladies who had laid information at the same place. Bills were posted up in consequence of it, in all parts of the town, describing the man: any one may satisfy themselves by seeing me, that I do not in any respect answer to any part of their descriptions. As I have before expressed—a close-bodied coat, pepper and salt colour, and buttons of the same, made very short, which was found in my lodging, was produced in Court. Miss Porter's swore that to be the great coat that covered another worn by me, the 18th of of January, 1790. The Jury replied, certainly that is not a furtout: nevertheless, it was passed over. If it should be required, I will produce at least half a dozen witnesses, full as respectable as the Miss Porter's, to prove, that I did not buy that coat till the month of April, 1790. I could have proved this in the Courts, but I never conceived that this coat, which was carried to Bow-street, would be called in to aid the cause, which was bought three months after Miss Porter's were assaulted. The coat I have by me, and mean to keep it, to prove that it is an impossibility to get it over another coat. Curiosity has brought numbers of people to see me since my confinement, and to purchase my flowers, who have exclaimed with the greatest surprize, "Is this the man called the Monster? why he does not in any respect answer the description given by Miss Porter's and others?" and when I have produced the coat sworn to, (and related what passed about it) they have held up their hands with astonishment.

The learned Judge laid great stress upon that part of Sarah's evidence, where she says, the first time she saw the man, was at the bottom of St. James's-street; that he

stared her in the face, and said, oh! oh! and instantly gave her a violent blow on the back part of her head; but this learned Gentleman was not acquainted with the first story at the place of examination, where she said, as (I have before related) that she did not see him at all, until he struck her at her own door.

The Judge also said in his address to the Jury, if you imagine that he did not perceive he was pursued by Coleman, it takes of a great deal from the weight of the evidence. But Coleman tells you, he is positive he did. His bare assertion, that I knew he followed me, was, however, no proof; nor did he bring any circumstance forward that could prove it.

Mr. Swift, page 119 to 125, very ingeniously points out the absurdities of this part of Coleman's evidence: it must appear a likely story, that if I knew Coleman was following me, and for what purpose, that instead of making my escape, that I did not attempt it, which that cowardly impotently creature could not have prevented, for I could have knocked down half a dozen such as him, with the greatest ease. On the contrary, I went about my business, which was to make an enquiry of some persons about employment, and passed Mills Porter's door *three different times that evening*, which he confesses. I say, is this a probable story, that I should thus run my head, as it were, into the Lion's mouth? Then what followed afterwards was equally improbable.

The last place he followed me to, was Mr. Smith's, in Southmoulton-street, where I had business. But before I proceed, I must remark another circumstance; just before I stopped at Mr. Smith's, I called at Mr. Pearson's, in Vere-street, having business also with him and his wife; there was not any one at home, and as I stood at the door, the dastardly fellow began his manly attack, (and it was then I first observed him) by saying as he himself expresses, as I was leaning on the rails, I told him, "*says I, this is an empty house,*" I thanked him for his information, and told him he was mistaken; then he continues in his evidence to the Court: "I behaved in this kind of way, peeping over his shoulder, and making a clapping with my hands, and *I was going to knock him*
"down

"down once or twice. I then followed him very close indeed to South Moulton-street—I could not conceive what the Fribble could mean by such very strange sort of behaviour, which I related to Mr. Smith, when I was in his parlour, and really thought he was deranged in his intellects."

Coleman was questioned by their Counsel:—Did you follow him in? (meaning to Mr. Smith's house) he answered, No. I was prevented by the master of the house. His own words prove contrary at Hicks's Hall, where he said, Mr. Smith came out and desired him to walk in; and Mr. Smith, who is a much more respectable tradesman than Coleman, can, and will corroborate that, if called upon Oath.

He said also, he was kept some time in the dark, in Mr. Smith's parlour, to make it appear Mr. S. wanted to screen me.

Hearing Mr. Swift was writing on my case, he voluntarily waited him, to express his concern that he was not examined at the Old Bailey, concerning what passed at his house the evening I was there; it was for that purpose he attended the Court, not concerning my character. So far from his demanding admittance, which he swears to have done, (added to Mr. Smith's preventing him) Mr. Smith went to the street door, (which had not been shut from the time I entered) and found him as my friend describes, displaying his valour at the rails, as Miss Porter afterwards displayed her veracity at the top of the flight of steps. Mr. Smith can prove it was at my request that he went out and spoke to him: and after interrogating him, whether he wanted any person in his house, actually made the fellow come in and explain himself. He said, trembling, (at the trial he confesses he was a *little* agitated) that I had insulted some Ladies of his acquaintance; at which I exclaimed, good God! I never in my life insulted any Ladies, and told him he must be mistaken; gave him my direction and parted. As I was going to my Mother's, in Jermyn-street, near Miss Porter's again, making the fourth time, which was the direction given to Coleman, and where I was always to be heard of, (notwithstanding Mr. Pigot's assertion to

the contrary, which was only designed to calumniate me) I met Coleman again, instead of avoiding him which I might have done. I *first* spoke to him, saying, "so Sir, we meet again;" joined him, and at his request went with the greatest readiness to the Ladies he said I had insulted, when to my great surprize, he stopped at the door of the Bagnio, which I knew was Miss Porter's residence; "Is it here," says I, "what Miss Porter's," (whose story I had heard of) I then instantly went in, knowing I never had said or done any thing to Miss Porter's, that required me to stand in awe of them, little thinking what was to follow. The silly, though cunning fellow, confessed he thought after we parted, that he should have secured me, that if I was guilty, I should take so *good* an opportunity to abscond.

This circumstantial, enriched, and kindly rewarded evidence of Miss Porter swore, that when we were going into the house, he saw Ann and Sarah crossing St. James's-street; and immediately after says, the Ladies were fainting in the parlour. Now, as it was light enough to distinguish the sister's crossing the street, which I believe was the case; how came it to be entirely dark half an hour before, in Mr. Smith's parlour, (which is a very light room?) The Reader must suppose, that a considerable time elapsed from the time of Coleman's introduction to Mr. Smith's, where he staid talking until we arrived at the Bagnio.

The Judge dwelt strongly upon another part of Coleman's evidence, where the melancholy scene of the fainting Ladies is described. The learned Judge, whose feelings are so much to be honored, was not however acquainted that some sort of Ladies can faint at any time, when occasion requires it, as easy as a crocodile sheds tears. Coleman there says, when I was accused of the crime, (in Porter's parlour) I made no reply, but sat silent; this assertion had its desired effect upon his Lordship. But I say in answer to this, that I made use of every argument in my power to convince them I was not the man; begged they would send for my friends, or for Mr. Michel, who would prove their mistake. I likewise named several neighbours, house-keepers, who
knew

knew me sufficiently to give Bail for that night, all of which was refused. The reason was evident: Mr. Angerstein offered 50l. reward upon the *commitment* of any man that might be apprehended. There was at least five or six other persons in the room, besides the Porter's family, who were all strangers to me, therefore cannot bring any of them forward to prove the truth of this.

Next morning I was taken before Sir Sampson Wright, in Bow-street: having heard Miss Porter's charge against me, at that moment I urged the circumstance by which I could prove my innocence, which Mr. Michel and his family, and work-people, on my trial swore to be true.

Sir Sampson Wright himself observed, I did not answer the description of Miss Porter's Monster, and have heard it said, he does not believe me to be the man. I was at that time much indebted to his humanity, or should have been torn to pieces by the surrounding mob. They were told I *was* the Monster, *that my very coat was sworn to, and his instrument found in the pocket*, and that was a sufficient proof of guilt to them.

Great numbers of Ladies appeared at this place, and others who have visited me in my confinement that were wounded by the Monster, have declared I was not the man at Bow-street they swore to.

I shall here relate some of the most principal circumstances that appeared in my favor; and more that would have been proved, had my part of the business been properly conducted: by this, I do not mean to cast the least reflection on Mr. Fletcher, the Attorney employed, as he took up the business under the greatest disadvantages, at a few hour's notice, my case having been thrown up by the person who was first employed, and had sufficient time to arrange the business; but from the influence of my enemies, was prevailed on to deserted me a very short time before my trial*.

* Mr. Swift, in his Pamphlet, page 128 Note, speaks more particularly on this point.

For this reason, numbers of witnesses who attended were not called on; and some that were, was not questioned on the subject they came to give their testimony, and of great importance towards obtaining my acquittal. In short, the whole on my part was a scene of confusion and neglect, opposed to the greatest regularity and good management. For instance, Sophia Cameron, and Sarah Brady, known by their employers for many years to be honest, virtuous, young women, with unblemished characters, and worked with Mr. Michel at the time I was with him, appeared to speak to the following purport: I here represent their Testimony made since.

Copy of their Affidavit, made before the Magistrates at Justice Hyde's Office, St. Martin's Street.

Middlesex }
to wit. }

The KING against WILLIAMS.

" Mrs. Sophia Cameron, the wife of James Cameron,
" Taylor, of North-street, Westminster; and Mrs. Sarah
" Brady, the wife of Andrew Brady, Hair-dresser, of
" Watling-street, St. Paul's Church-yard;

" This day came before me, and voluntarily made
" Oath and say, that they were employed by Mr. Michel,
" of Dover-street, to manufacture Artificial Flowers, at
" the time that Rhynwick Williams also worked for
" him.

" That they left the said Rhynwick Williams at work
" at the said Mr. Michiel's, between one and two o'clock
" in the forenoon of the 18th of January, 1790, when
" they requested leave of absence, (it being her Majesty's Birth-day) they wished to recreate themselves for
" the afternoon; that on their return to work at the usual
" hour next morning, they saw a quantity of Trimming,
" which they were told was for Mrs. Abington, and had
" been began and finished since they left work the day
" before.

" That they clearly recollect its being said in the work-
" room by Mr. Michel, Miss Michel, and Catharine Ar-
" mat, *Mr. Williams had staid till past twelve the last night,*
" to

" to finish it; and they declare, they positively believe, that so much work as appeared to have been done, could not have been executed by those that remained in the house, if Rhynwick Williams had not staid very late the over night, to assist in doing it.

" They depose also, that they never at any time saw him wear a great or upper coat.

" That they should have given the above testimony when they were called on the trial of Rhynwick Williams, but the Counsel only questioned them touching his character.

" That at the request of Rhynwick Williams, they now make this deposition, and purely from the same disinterested regard to truth and justice, which they believe alone induced Mr. Michiel and his family to come forward and speak to the same purport.

" SOPHIA CAMERON,
" SARAH BRADY."

Sworn before me this 12th Day of April, 1792,

B. KENNETT.

These were two out of the three English women, the Court was told of being absent on that day.

Now, had the learned Judge heard these additional witnesses to the Alibi, he would not have discredited that Alibi when addressing the Jury, by saying there did not appear to be any particular circumstance occur on the night of the Queen's Birth-day, more than any other night, to bring to their recollection what passed about me. On the contrary, I assert with all deference and respect, that had it been on any other night than that remarkable one, they could not have so clearly recollected. It was from that particular circumstance of Mrs. Abington's dress being ordered, and the bustle that part of the town is always in, that they recollected beyond the least doubt: likewise Mr. Gerfeaux's books, which were sent for to the Court, proved it. He at the same time gave an unequivocal testimony of his hav-

ing

ing drawn the pattern himself, and given the order on the evening of the Birth-day, and received the quantity of eight yards of Trimming, at 18s. per yard, by nine or ten o'clock the next morning, the 19th.

Because it was the Birth-day, was the reason that Mrs. Cameron, Brady, (and others) took half a holiday, which is always customary on the Birth-day; as most people, (whose business is relative to Court dresses) are greatly hurried for some time before a Birth-day, and not only work early and late, but frequently all night, not excepting Sundays; therefore, when the Birth-day arrives, they are glad of rest or recreation, and look upon it as a kind of charter among them.

This being the case, the principal work-people were absent. Mr. Michel was obliged to exert himself more than usual, and even called in the servant of the house to assist, which he never did before: this of course proved something particular and uncommon passed with her, to bring to her recollection it was that night, and the work-people absent because it was a holiday.

This Mary Armat, (the servant) clearly recollected and deposed, that when she let me out that night, she noticed how exactly the clock went with the watchman. Catharine, her sister, and Miss Michel, clearly remember it; but, because Mr. Michiel did not recollect it, it was looked upon as a material contradiction. But Catharine Armat's evidence accounts for that, as she says it was spoke in English, and Michel is a stranger to the language. It was another misfortune to me, that some of my principal witnesses did not speak or understand English, and I am informed my evidence did not gain in the translation. Even the Trials that were published were partial, and tending to prejudice the Reader; in short, as my worthy advocate remarks, it appeared as if a fatality attended me in the whole affair.

A Miss Reynolds, who was in company with one of the four Ladies that was wounded the same night, and near the same time, as Miss Porter, and in the same street, was subpoenaed to the Court to prove, that Williams was not the man who wounded her friend, Miss Touffaint; of Sackville-street; but like others, she
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was not called. The names of the other Ladies, were Harlow, Felton, and Burney, none of whom would swear I was the man.

I now see the folly of having defended myself before the Magistrates—my Prosecutors being in possession of my Case, furnished their Counsel with instructions accordingly. Mr. Pigot, in first opening the tale, tells the Court, he hears that Williams means to defend himself by proving an Alibi; but insinuates, the witnesses are such, as are not to be believed, (before they are seen or heard) and that *his* witnesses are such, as can hardly be supposed to perjury themselves: but had Sir Sampson Wright's books been introduced, this great man would have looked very little.

The variation of my evidence from first to last, was but trifling: the main points were clearly established, that I was at work that night till half after twelve, upon Mrs. Abington's order, and that Mr. Michel could not have completed it without my assistance.

I shall next proceed to represent some further particulars that passed on the second trial, at Hicks's Hall, where it must have appeared to every unprejudiced and just Observer, that revenge was not the least part of their inducement to persevere, on account of Mr. Swift's vindication of me, which brought to light many things they wished to bury in oblivion. His magnanimity deserves the highest encomiums of every spirited man, in meeting his opponents face to face, and not persisting in my pleading guilty; but to hear all they had to say, though he met their accusations under every disadvantage, as half the observations and questions he should have made, were lost for want of a Brief and an assisting Counsel. Every friend I had remaining, advised me to plead guilty, and I knew the propriety of the advice. I had no reason to hope or expect the evidence I brought, would fare the least better than at the former trial, but that my enemies would amend their story, leave out their former contradictions, (which Mr.

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Swift

Swift pointed out in his Vindication,) and feel the strong necessity there was I should be convicted a second time, or how would they and their party appear? How would that wealthy person have appeared, who had used such influence to procure my conviction, before he had heard my defence? How would the party have looked and felt, on refunding the immense rewards they had received? I say, where would Coleman have found it to return? Mr. Angerstein confessed having paid this Coleman the 50l. for my commitment, and gave an order to one Taylor, who collected the subscription, to the amount of 135 guineas, and this is the least part of his rewards; Notwithstanding all these reflections, I could not bring myself to acknowledge guilt in any form, when my heart shrunk with horror at the idea of the crime.

Miss Porter at this place, swore herself disinterested, *her fine feelings* were greatly shocked at Mr. Swift's making a doubt of it, and asking her some questions to that purpose.

Mr. Swift asked Miss Porter, finding she had not *then* received any share in the rewards.

Had you directly or indirectly any interest through the medium of Mr. Coleman? "Interest, Sir! I wonder how you can ask me such a question. What connexion have I with Mr. Coleman? Good God, Sir, No." This she swore, though she was about to marry Coleman, *and did shortly after!* Hear and think of this my Countrymen —that was another weighty inducement to strain every point to procure a second conviction, or that plan must have failed. This second trial was published, but only stating the heads of what passed, and that in the most partial manner; therefore I shall not relate any more of their variations and additions (to this new story) as they are not in print. Mrs. Miel appeared there to say, she was struck also, when Miss Porter and her sister were assaulted, which
never

never was heard before, but she would not swear I was the man.

Miss Porter's said, when I met them in the Park or other places, I blasted them, and threatened to drown them in blood. If this was the case, how was it so material a circumstance should not be brought forward on the first trial, when it was differently represented? And why did they not cause to be apprehended and punished, a man who should use such threatening and horrid language, which undoubtedly might in such a case be done?

I presume no man, if required by Miss Porter's, would have refused to secure such a person; it could not be the want of opportunity, as they say it passed in the day, and in public walks; in short, they wish to make the world believe any thing, but the rallery about the Captain. I have every reason to say, that I am sorry for my folly and imprudent conduct; but *Mrs. Coleman* has had her revenge, and *her Husband* his reward.

Mr. Swift's publication alarmed them much, and they began to think, that the eloquence of Mr. Pigot was not sufficient to support their cause a second time, though he was successful at first.

Messrs. Sheppard and Fielding were employed to support Mr. Pigot, who also had the occasional assistance of Mr. Garrow. Must it not appear a *bad* cause that required such great support? One single voice was all they had to contend with: had not the truly worthy Mr. Swift pleaded for me disinterestedly as he did, they would have had it all their own way, without the least opposition.

When this trial was over, Counsellor Fielding complimented the Jury for the Verdict they had given, and at the same time clearly betrayed, *the party had been spurred by revenge*, by Mr. Swift's book, saying, "You have
" Gentlemen the satisfaction, I will now tell you, of restoring peace to an innocent family, that have been for

“ a considerable time in the most miserable agitation ;
 “ for, from the first commission of the crime on Miss
 “ Porter, that whole family have had no peace, and by
 “ this time you are aware of a late Publication, that must
 “ have contributed extremely to their uneasiness.”

If therefore from all this I prove myself innocent of Miss Porter's charge, I must of course clearly be innocent of the rest ; for I can prove their Oaths influenced others.

Miss Baughn's, at Bow-street, were doubtful of my person, having very little opportunity of seeing the man : she says, it was a quarter past seven, in the month of December, consequently dark, “ they thought the man was taller,” and were loth to swear ; but Justice Bond told them, they might swear to the best of their judgment, (a most convenient mode of helping out an Oath when wanted) but as Miss Porter's was so positive, thought they could not be mistaken ; therefore, came to Hicks's Hall, and swore *they were not in the least doubt*. I could have proved an indisputable Alibi to that charge, but my Counsel observed, it would not avail me, therefore did not call the witnesses that attended. I was of course found Guilty to that charge.

Elizabeth Davis was the next charge, who when she was first wounded described the man. Bills were posted up in different parts of the town, with description of her assault, and the offer of 100l. reward, to any person that might apprehend him : it was then said, that he was six feet four inches high, that he wore a drab great coat, and metal buttons, (had a nosegay in his hand and wore a cockade) and swore to my person, which is only *five* feet four inches, and to the short coat I before described, nothing can be more contrary, which coat I shall always exhibit when opportunity offers, to prove with what accuracy this woman swore. One foot in a man's height is no trifling mistake. But what was, if possible, still more gross, she swore at Hicks's Hall, the flowers he had in his hand were artificial, (hearing that was my business) whereas at Bow-street Mr. Bond questioned

tioned her repeatedly on that subject, and she replied, it *was dark*, that she refused smelling them, *and had no way of knowing*.

She says she pointed me out at Bow-street, which is easily accounted for :

I was standing there in the yard, surrounded by the Runners, arguing with them in the most earnest manner about my safety from the mob, without a hat, and in a different kind of dress to theirs; and every one which came into this place, saying, which is the man? Is it him without a hat? Yes, replied half a dozen at the same time, that's him in blue and buff; and this was the general buz of all around me during that exhibition. If this does not account for it, what reason can be assigned for this woman pointing out a man so contrary to her own description, both in person and dress? It cannot but appear to me, that this poor silly woman, hearing that the Monster was taken, thought she must go and swear to him as she had been wounded; and afterwards finding that those fine Ladies were so *positive and so kindly treated*, that she could not be mistaken, though he was a foot shorter; and as Miss Porter's could transform the size and colour of the coat, of course she must do the same.

One principal circumstance I had nearly forgot to mention, which is, that Pigot, in first stating the case, no doubt thought it policy to impress the Court with reflections on my character, by saying, the house I slept at was a despicable one; but this was afterwards proved to be false by Macmanus, the Runner, one of their own witnesses, whose business it is to know the character of all Public-houses. Though this was one of the most respectable I know of at the West end of the town, I nevertheless degraded myself by lodging in any Public-house. I had all my life previous to that short time, been used to better accommodation, but having some little bills to pay, adopted the plan of saving, by reducing the price of my lodging, among other necessities.

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This same Gentleman's conduct was equally unfair in the second opening of my case, it was upon the whole enough to criminate any man in my situation, before a single witness was called on either side ; and his reply, wherein he called the witnesses to the Alibi (trumpery) was of such a nature, that he could not fail gaining that Verdict he had laboured so hard to obtain.

My worthy advocate was zealous in his cause, but unfortunately for me, he had too much power to contend with. It was likewise unfortunate that the Jury were not acquainted with many of the facts here inserted, nor could they compare the three different stories related at three different places. I have heard it has been said by many, that it appeared to them very clearly, ttha I was at Mr. Michel's that night, till past twelve ; but thought it probable I might go out about eleven o'clock. This was stated at the second trial, where Mr. Michel and Catharine Armat proved to the contrary, and the Court dismissed that idea.

It was proved at the Old Bailey, I saved the life of a woman : was this the act of a savage ? Let me ask Mrs. Coleman, (*Miss Porter that was*) if she ever saved the life of any one, or did her husband ever rescue a woman from the jaws of death ? I believe not, and particularly where courage is necessary, it is not to be expected he ever will. This honest, virtuous, young woman was so intimidated by the reception she met with, (which I have before described) that she had not power to relate the fact ; but hearing that I intended to represent the true state of my Case to the Public, sent me the following Certificate :

" With due remembrance of the very important service and humanity which I experienced from Mr. Rhynwick Williams, I again testify an instance of his conduct, which would do honor to any man, as I declared on his trial at the Old Bailey.

" I then said his conduct to me was Manly, and that
" he

“ he saved my life. Yet though the Court thought proper to laugh at that declaration, I appeal to the Public, whether it was not justly entitled Manly, when I say he saved me from drowning, which by an unfortunate accident I was in great danger of, near London.—
 “ He afterwards kindly attended me safe home.

“ It also may be proper to add, that I never saw him previous to or since the above occurrence, (when he by chance passed by where I was) until I was called upon to give that evidence, which I considered myself bound to give of a disposition entirely opposite to that cruel one, which I think cannot be imputed to him but by mistake.

“ SARAH SEAWARD, *Callender,*
 “ *Queen-street, Seven Dials.*”

I shall here quote a circumstance related by Theophilus Swift, Esq. page 38, on the authority of Mrs. Smith, Matron of the Magdalen Hospital, about two years since:
 “ This venerable Lady was walking alone in St. George’s Fields, the wind was high, and her gown by some accident catching round a post, she fell; and in her fall, the thumb of her left hand received a violent sprain, together with a severe bruise, she fainted; was alone, no coach near—the strong, the manly Williams, lifted up the good old lady, and with that humanity which has marked every circumstance of his life, carried her in his arms to a house at a very considerable distance, where he continued with her for the space of an hour, with a degree of filial affection, not always found in children towards their own mothers, and afterwards conducted her home. This aged and grateful woman, (who has ever since called him her son) authorizes me to say, that she never discovered in any person such extreme compassion and tenderness of nature; and told Mr. Swift, it was a physical impossibility a man of Williams’s humanity, could at the same time be
 a man

a man of the inhumanity imputed, and that she would not believe so gross a contradiction, though fifty Miss Porter's were to swear it."

I think this must appear another corroborating proof of my having some pretension to humane principles and tender feelings. This respectable good old lady, who I find always speaks of me with the affection of a mother, has expressed her concern that she was not called on the trials; but I am glad she was not, as she would have been exposed to the same insults that others were, and her testimony rendered of as little service to me. Mrs. Smith intended very lately to sign a Certificate to the above purport, but was prevented by the Gentlemen of the Committee at that place.

Mr. Angerstein is well acquainted with the Lady, therefore, if what I have here inserted is false, he has the opportunity of contradicting it; at the same time he may enquire into the truth of one of the Magdalen's having confessed to this Lady, that she had been acquainted with me, expressed great concern for me, said the world had mistaken the man, and that my conduct towards her had been perfectly gentleman-like.

It was generally said for some time after my conviction, that the greatest proof of my guilt was, that there did not appear to be any repetition of those barbarous acts, since my apprehension, but this is a most egregious and shameful falsehood. Miss Zubery and Mary Sudbury's* happened a short time after, and subsequent to that, there was several accounts to the same purport in different newspapers; but the names and places of abode was concealed, and this is still practised on similar occasions. In the month of October last it appeared, that this same described villain, had travelled to Bristol, and in consequence of his inhuman practices there, an Advertisement appeared in different papers, dated October 13, from the Council-house of that place, offering a reward to any person who would secure him, to be paid by the Chamberlain of that City, and signed by Worrell, the Town Clerk.

* Related particularly by T. Swift, Esq. in his Letter to Judge Buller.

His first attack was made on Margaret Brown and Mary Plumley, coming from Clifton, over Brandon-hill, where at different times he assaulted and wounded them on the hip, with a sharp instrument ; and a short time after, two other females were in the like manner assaulted and wounded by him, in the public streets, the particulars of this was in the Morning Post, October 19, 1791. An additional reward of 100 Guineas was afterwards offered from the Bush Tavern, to be continued for three months ; but the villain had the peculiar art of escaping and eluding their pursuit, as he did in London. He afterwards made his appearance at Watford, and a servant of Mr. Kent's was wounded so severely, that she walked on crutches for some time after, and notices were printed to prevent females walking unprotected at any time of the day. Another affair of the same kind has happened lately, on the 13th of June, 1792. A young woman was attacked and treated in the usual brutal-manner that others have experienced, no doubt from the same unnatural creature ; but Miss Porter's friends wish to make the world suppose, that there is more than one Monster, and it is certainly tpolicy in them (now and then to pay for a paragraph) to support that idea. When I heard of this affair, I applied to a friend to enquire more particularly into the truth of it, to learn the woman's name, and get an exact description of the circumstance from herself, which she readily repeated before her mistress and fellow-servant, shewed her cloathes which had been cut, and her bruises.—Her name is Mary Clark, who is servant to Mr. Middleton, of Chidley Court, Pall Mall. On Wednesday June 13, 1792, she was going of an errand for her mistress, about twelve o'clock at night, crossing Pall Mall, she was accosted by a man, who requested to hand her a-cross, which she refused, he then left her ; but on returning back, she met him again near the same place, when he blasted her, and swore he would murder her ; then forced a hand-

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kerchief

kerchief over her mouth, which was very highly scented, and struck her in a most violent manner, with a sharp instrument, that cut through her cloaths, the stays however resisted further penetration, whereby only she thinks her life was preserved:—this blow was under the right breast, which part was so much bruised, that she endured great pain some days afterwards. When she got away from him she run into Chidley Court, and he followed her, where her screams alarmed the neighbours, and her master throwing up his bed-room window, the Savage then left her and made his escape.

Her fellow-servant opened the door and saw her on the ground in a fit, who from the alarm, fainted likewise. Mr. and Mrs. Middleton were also much frightened, and were obliged to call in the assistance of the neighbours to recover the young women.

She describes the offender to have had the appearance of a Gentleman, to be rather tall, wore a drab-coloured great coat, and his hair frizzed low at the sides, and a round hat, pulled over his face, which with her extreme agitation, prevented her from particularly observing his countenance.

This affair the family made known to the Runners, at Bow-street, and at Justice Hyde's Office; intelligence was given to the different Printers of Newspapers, and yet this very important circumstance has been carefully suppressed and kept secret from the Public. Very unfortunately this man's height, hair, and coat, &c. answers Miss Porter's original description of the Monster, therefore it is very friendly in the public prints, not to take any notice of it.

I shall expect, (when this Appeal is published) to see myself, if possible, more abused than ever in the Newspapers—but I expect not to experience universal benevolence; I have however to say for my consolation, that I am every day gaining friends.

I shall

I shall here conclude with observing, that through the whole of this vile affair, there has not appeared one circumstance or proof of Guilt attached to me, that might not be equally applied to many other men; and I think I may say, the Annals of History does not contain a greater instance of hasty Judgment nor a harder case, in any civilized Country.

F I N I S.

C O P Y
OF A
L E T T E R
TO
THEOPHILUS SWIFT, Esq;
AT CLONARD, IRELAND.

SIR,

THE opinion you have maintained, (with much good effect) on my unfortunate Case, will, I hope, induce you to favor me with your attention, on the Observations I have made in an Appeal to the Public, which I herewith send to you.

I hope you will excuse the liberty I have taken, in quoting some of the Observations contained in your Pamphlet, for the reasons I have assigned in so doing. I have not the power, Sir, but I beg you will believe I have *every wish* to express, and shew my gratitude to you, for the experience I have had of your true Humanity, your spirited regard to Justice, and your late offers to further serve me.

I wish likewise to evince the high sense I have of your greatness of mind, which has shone so superior to that reprehensible slavery, that the bulk of mankind indigently fall into; I mean, the indolent readiness of adopting the opinions of others, and the fabrications of interested persons, and news-mongers.

That your honourable principles and conduct in human affairs, which have been uniformly directed by a clear, and penetrating judgment, may in this life and hereafter have their due reward, is the constant prayer of

Your ever Obliged,

Most Respectful,

And truly Grateful,

Humble Servant,

*State Side, Newgate,
July 23, 1792.*

RHYNWICK WILLIAMS.